

## Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 OMB-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SPC-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAM-01 IO-14 EB-11 AID-20 DRC-01

/163 W

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R 280915Z FEB 74

FM AMEMBASSY KABUL

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6987

INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

AMEMBASSY LONDON

UK.EMBASSY MOSCOW 0553

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L KABUL 1254

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, AF, IN

SUBJ: DEVELOPING AFGHAN-INDIAN RELATIONS

REF: KABUL 1221

SUMMARY: SINCE JULY 17 COUP, DAOUD REGIME HAS BEEN MAKING INTENSIVE EFFORT TO INCREASE CONTACTS AND STRENGTHEN RELATIONS WITH INDIA. THIS EFFORT HAS INVOLVED BOTH HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGES AND REPEATED AFGHAN REQUESTS FOR INCREASED INDIAN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE. IN OUR VIEW, DAOUD IS ATTEMPTING TO BROADEN HIS BASE OF POLITICAL SUPPORT IN REGION, MOST SPECIFICALLY IN REGARD TO PAKISTAN BUT ALSO IN HOPE OF BUILDING UP ANOTHER VIABLE "PRESENCE" IN AFGHANISTAN TO COUNTER STRONG SOVIET INFLUENCE. THIRD FACTOR  
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WOULD BE INDIAN SUPPORT IN ANY POSSIBLE CONFLICT WITH IRAN. END SUMMA-  
RY.

1. MOHAMMAD NAIM (DAOUD'S BROTHER AND CHIEF FOREIGN POLICY ADVISOR) AND DEPFONMIN WAHID ABDULLAH ARE NOW IN NEW DELHI (FEB 25-28) IN THIRD ROUND OF HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGES BETWEEN INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN SINCE COUP. PAIR WENT TO NEW DELME IN SEPTEMBER AND INDIAN FOREIGN MINISTER SWARAN SINGH CAME TO KABUL OCT 29-NOV 1. INCREASED INDIAN ASSISTANCE PACKAGE HAS BEEN REQUESTED AND REPORTEDLY AGREED TO; AND GOA TELLS US PURPOSE OF LATEST TRIP IS TO FINALIZE ARRANGEMENTS. INDIANS REPORTEDLY ARE PREPARED TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN FORM OF ADVISORS AND TRAINING BUT DO NOT ENVISION ANY ADDITIONAL FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE BEYOND SMALL AMOUNT NOW BEING PROVIDED FOR ONGOING PROJECTS SUCH AS INDUSTRIAL PARK AND CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL.

WORKING LEVEL DISCUSSIONS (PRIMARILY ECONOMIC) HAVE BEEN GOING ON FOR SOME TIME. FIVE-MAN INDIAN PLANNING TEAM WAS IN KABKR FOV 5-15 AND INDIAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS HAVE BEEN MEETING WITH VARIOUS GOA MINISTRIES. WE UNDERSTAND TYPES OF ASSISTANCE BEING DISCUSSED INCLUDE: A) RESIDENT INDIAN PLANNING GROUP TO ASSIST MINISTRY OF PLANNING; B) TWO OR THREE MORE MINI-HYDROELECTRIC STATIONS (AT LEAST ONE HAS ALREADY BEEN BUILT); C) FURTHER ASSISTANCE TO KABUL INDUSTRIAL PARK; D) CONSTRUCTION ENGINEERS TO AID MINISTRY OF INTERIOR IN MUNICIPAL DEVELOPMENT; E) EXPERTS IN LAND SETTLEMENT FOR NOMADS AND IMMIGRANTS; F) ADVISORS IN FIELD OF DEMOGRAPHY AND POPULATION CENSUS; G) POPULATION DATA PROCESSING AND DATA ANALYSIS EQUIPMENT; H) SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS IN DEMOGRAPHY, LAND REHABILITATION, LAND REFORM AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT; I) TRAINING AND EQUIPMENT FOR AFGHAN POLICE PLUS ADVISORS AND TEACHERS FOR POLICE ACADEMY, TRAFFIC POLICE AND GENDARMERIE; AND J) INCREASED NUMBER OF TRAINING SLOTS FOR AFGHAN MILITARY IN INDIA. INDIAN EMBASSY OFFICIAL INFORMED US IN NOVEMBER THAT THEY EXPECTED NUMBER OF ADVISORS TO INCREASE FROM 90 TO ABOUT 150 IN SIX MONTHS ONCE NEW PROJECTS AGREED UPON. IN JANUARY WE WERE TOLD THAT JOINT ECONOMIC COMMISSION (VEHICLE FOR HANDLING TRADE AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE BETWEEN THE TWO) WAS BECOMING MORE ACTIVE AND WOULD HOLD ITS NEXT MEETING IN MARCH.

3. INDIAN MILITARY MISSION HAS BEEN EXPECTED IN KABUL FOR SOME TIME TO DISCUSS MILITARY TRAINING AND PERHAPS ASSISTANCE TO POLICE  
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AND GENDARMERIE. FACT OF VISIT HAS BEEN CONFIRMED TO US BY INDIAN EMBASSY OFFICIALS BUT DATE STILL UNCERTAIN. (LATEST ESTIMATE IS MARCH 4). AFGHAN OFFICIALS ARE TREATING VISIT AS VERY SENSITIVE MATTER AND ARE RELUCTANT TO DISCUSS IT. NAIM/ABDULLAH MAY PIN DATE OF VISIT DOWN WHILE IN DELHI.

4. POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS EVOLVING RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDIA AND AFGHANISTAN MERITS CLOSE US ATTENTION AS NUMBER OF REGIONAL CONSIDERATIONS ARE INVOLVED. INCREASED INDIAN PRESENCE AND INFLUENCE IN AFGHANISTAN AS "COUNTER" TO STRONG SOVIET INFLUENCE IS, IN

THAT ONE RESPECT, POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT. IMPACT OF THAT PRESENCE  
HOWEVER ON AFGHAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS AND FOR THAT MATTER  
INDIAN-PAKISTAN RELATIONS IS ANOTHER QUESTION. IF DAOUD INTENDS,  
AT SOME POINT IN FUTURE, TO ATTEMPT TO TRANSLATE STRENGTHENED TIES  
WITH INDIA INTO INDIAN SUPPORT ON PASHTUNISTAN, ISSUE OBVIOUSLY MORE  
COMPLICATED FOR US. SAME CONSIDERATIONS, THOUGH TO LESSER EXTENT,  
APPLY TO IRAN. AFGHANS CULTURALLY AND ETHNICALLY DO NOT LIKE INDIANS  
AND IN FACT GENERALLY EXPRESS CONTEMPT FOR THEM AS PEOPLE.  
STRONGLY INCREASED INDIAN PRESENCE THUS COULD PRESENT PROBLEMS OF  
ITS OWN FOR BOTH SIDES. WITH THESE CONSIDERATIONS IN MIND, AND  
IN LIGHT OF TENTATIVE REGIONAL ARRANGEMENT EVIDENTLY UNDER  
DISCUSSION BETWEEN TWO ( REFTEL), WE AWAIT RESULTS CURRENT NAIM  
VISIT, INFORMATION WHICH WE WILL REPORT AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE.  
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